1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

these vices occasion frequent quarrels and wars among them
sometimes with their neighbours, not from a desire of increasing 578
their power, but from some other causes; such as the carrying 583
off their provisions, or rather their girls, which is frequently
practised as the most summary method of procuring a wife.

Their trade is likewise not so much calculated for the acquisition 439
of riches as for procuring the necessaries and conveniencies of life.
They sell the *Koreki* sables, fox and white dog skins, dried
mushroons, or such trifles; and receive in exchange cloaths made
of deer-skins and other hides: among themselves they exchange 438
what they abound with for what they want, as dogs, boats, dishes,
troughs, nets, hemp, yarn, and provisions. This kind of barter 437
is carried on under a great shew of friendship; for when one 576
wants any thing that another has, he goes freely to visit him, and
without any ceremony makes known his wants, although perhaps he
never had any acquaintance with that person before: the landlord
is obliged to behave according to the custom of the country;
and bringing whatever his guest has occasion for, gives it him.
He afterwards returns the visit, and must be received in the same
manner; so that both parties have their wants supplied.

Their manners are quite rude: they never use any civil ex- 576
pression or salutation; never take off their caps, nor bow to one 157
another; and their discourse is stupid, and betrays the most con-
summate ignorance; and yet they are in some degree curious, and
inquisitive upon many occasions.

They have filled almost every place in heaven and earth with 771
different spirits, which they both worship and fear more than
God: they offer them sacrifices upon every occasion, and some
carry little idols about them, or have them placed in their
dwellings; but, with regard to God, they not only neglect to
worship him; but, in case of troubles and misfortunes, they
curse and blaspheme him.

They keep no account of their age, though they can count as 802
far as one hundred; but this is so troublesome to them that

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better; the *Jakutſki* alſo dig deep pits, in which they lay their fiſh, ſprinkling it with wood aſhes, and cover it with leaves at top, and over all put a layer of earth: this method is better than any of the former. The *Tunguſi* and Coſſacks of *Ochotſka* preſerve their fiſh in the ſame manner, with this difference only, that inſtead of wood aſhes, they uſe the aſhes of burnt ſea weed. They boil their freſh fiſh in troughs, take it out with boards, and letting it cool, eat it with a ſoup made of the ſweet graſs.

As for the fleſh of land and ſea animals, they boil it in their troughs, with ſeveral different herbs and roots; the broth they drink out of ladles and bowls, and the meat they take out upon boards, and eat in their hands. The whale and ſea horſe fat they alſo boil with roots.

There is a principal diſh at all their feaſts and entertainments, called *ſelaga*, which they make by pounding all ſorts of different roots and berries, with the addition of caviar, and whale and ſeals' fat.

Before the conqueſt they ſeldom uſed any thing for drink but water: but when they made merry they drank water which had ſtood ſome time upon muſhroons; but of this hereafter. At preſent they drink ſpirits as faſt as the *Ruſſians*: after dinner they drink water; and every one, when he goes to bed at night, ſets a veſſel of water by him, to which he puts ſnow or ice to keep it cold; and always drinks it up before morning. In the winter time they amuſe themſelves frequently by throwing handfuls of ſnow into their mouths; and the bridegrooms who work with the fathers of their future brides find it their hardeſt task to provide ſnow for their family in the ſummer time, for they muſt bring it from the higheſt hills be the weather what it will, otherwiſe they would ſo diſoblige as never to be forgiven.

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When a bridegroom obtains the liberty of ſeizing his bride, he 573
ſeeks every opportunity of finding her alone, or in the company of a few people; for during this time all the women in the village are obliged to protect her; beſides ſhe has two or three different coats, and is ſwaddled round with fiſh nets and ſtraps, ſo that ſhe has little more motion that a ſtatue. If the bridegroom happens to find her alone, or in company but with a few, he throws himſelf upon her, and begins to tear off her cloaths, nets, and ſtraps; for to ſtrip the bride naked conſtitutes the ceremony of marriage. This is not always an eaſy taſk; for though ſhe herſelf makes ſmall reſiſtance, (and indeed ſhe can make but little) yet, if there happen to be many women near, they all fall upon the bridegroom without any mercy, beating him, dragging him by the hair, ſcratching his face, and uſing every other method they can think of to prevent him from accompliſhing his deſign. If the bridegroom is ſo happy as to obtain his wiſh, he immediately runs from her, and the bride as a proof of her being conquered, calls him back with a ſoft and tender voice: thus the marriage is concluded. This victory is ſeldom obtained at once, but ſometimes the conteſt laſts a whole year; and after every attempt the bridegroom is obliged to take ſome time to recover ſtrength, and to cure the wounds he has received. There is an inſtance of one, who, after having perſevered for ſeven years, inſtead of obtaining a bride, was rendered quite a cripple, the women having uſed him ſo barbarouſly.

As ſoon as the above ceremony is over, he has liberty next 585
night to go to her bed, and the day following, without any ceremony, carries her off to his own village. After ſome time, the bride and bridegroom return to the bride's relations, where the marriage feaſt is celebrated in the following manner; of which I was an eye-witneſs in 1739.

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6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

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Village, 18th-century engraving.

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At the time of the first Russian acquaintance with Kamchatka the Itel'mens maintained a primitive-communal order. "Until its subjection to Russian rule," wrote Krasheninnikov, "this wild people lived in a state of complete freedom; it had no masters, was subjected to no laws, and paid tribute to no one. Old and courageous people had superior position in every ostrozhka, but this meant only that their advice was hearkened to. Generally, there was equality among them, no one could issue commands to anyone else, and no one had the right to mete out punishment on his own to anyone." Every village was inhabited by members of one clan. The semidugout housed several related families; the number of its inhabitants sometimes was as high as 100. They were bound by collective production and consumption. The custom of vendetta prevailed.

[554] [614] [342] [592]

The woman held a high position in family and social life. Many features of matriarchy persisted in the Itel'men social system. These included the husband's moving into the wife's home, or at least temporary residence in the father-in-law's house; marriage by working for the bride, which involved the groom's moving to her home and performing various tasks. But the matriarchal organization was already in a state of disintegration in the beginning of the 18th century. Constant wars among individual clans and with neighboring peoples, waged for the sake of seizing women and captives, who were partially turned into slaves, intensified this process. The arrival of Russians in Kamchatka led to rapid changes in the economy and life of the Itel'mens.

[562] [591] [583] [182] [721] [648]

The religious notions of the Itel'mens, according to 18th-century explorers, and primarily Krasheninnikov, had many elements in common with the beliefs of the Koryaks and Chukchi. These included the idea of the raven-creator, rituals and celebrations connected with the annual economic cycle, whale, bear and other ceremonials, consisting of "treating" and "giving gifts" to the animals killed in the hunt. The most important of these was the fall festival, ending in "purification"—passing through hoops of birch twigs. The Itel'mens believed in evil mountain and forest

[971] [796]